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LINGUISTIC POSITION OF THE TRIBES OF SOUTHERN TEXAS AND NORTHEASTERN MEXICO

By JOHN R. SWANTON

EXCEPTING its extreme northwestern and western extensions the territory included in the present state of Texas was anciently occupied by peoples of two sharply contrasted cultures. East of Trinity river and north of the latitude of Bidais creek, extending into northwestern Louisiana and southwestern Arkansas, were a group of tribes which had attained a very considerable stage of cultural development, reminding one in many respects of that reached along the lower Mississippi and eastward. These are the people we usually call Caddo from the designation of one of their principal divisions. South and west of them, however, in an area stretching from the southwestern corner of Louisiana and the western bank of the upper Trinity across the Rio Grande westward to about the site of Monclova, Coahuila, and southward almost to Panuco, were a vast number of small tribes of extremely low culture, so low, in fact, that it is to be doubted whether there is another area in North America which can compare with it in this respect. It is of these people that Cabeza de Vaca, early in the sixteenth century, gave such a depressing picture, and on many of the early maps we find the legend "wandering and cannibal peoples" printed here. The designation "cannibal" appears to have been applied in this region more justly than anywhere else in North America, and to the present day a remnant of one of these tribes, the Tonkawa, is known to other Indians as "man eaters," while the name which has survived as that of a linguistic stock in southwestern Louisiana and southeastern Texas, Atakapa, signifies the same thing in the tongue of the Choctaw from which it was borrowed. But while a low culture is not necessarily associated with cannibalism, in this particular region such was the case. All reports show us that the economic life, the social institutions, the habits and customs were

of the most primitive type, or perhaps I might better say that they were the least fused into those regional agreements or conventions upon which the phenomena which we call the tribe, the cultural area, and the nationality are built.

Along with this condition there seems to have gone a lack of ability on the part of the people to adapt themselves to civilization. Although they were not formidable antagonists, they could never be induced to submit to either the Spaniards or the Americans for a long period. It was not until two hundred years after the occupancy of Panuco that Escandon overcame the tribes of Tamaulipas, his conquest practically involving the destruction of the conquered, and the Texans on their side of the Rio Grande were finally incited by Karankawa depredations to overwhelm and destroy the remnant of that coastal people. The tribes farther inland were for a time missionized, but they frequently decamped, and it is probable that hope of protection against their northern enemies, the Apache and Comanche, had more influence in inducing them to settle about the missions than any real desire for civilization. At any rate they steadily declined in numbers until no considerable body of any of these Indians, unless we except the Tonkawa, now numbering fewer than forty-five, is known to be in existence. The adaptable French of Louisiana appear to have been the only Europeans in contact with these people who avoided any serious difficulties with them; but the Atakapa, the particular branch with which they had dealings, rapidly melted away, until today only a few descendants remain, confounded with the so-called "Red-bones" of Louisiana. Of all the Indians in this immense area only the few Atakapa and Tonkawa above mentioned, and possibly one or two remnants in Tamaulipas, survive.

While, as we have said, these peoples all appear to have agreed closely in culture, or lack of culture, the fragments of their languages preserved to us show very considerable divergences, and on the basis of these fragments six or seven distinct linguistic stocks have been erected. These are the Atakapan between Opelousas and Vermilion bay, Louisiana, and Galveston bay, Texas; the Karankawan in Texas, from Galveston bay to Aransas bay; the Tonkawan

inland of the preceding between Trinity river and Cibolo creek; the Coahuiltecan, or Pakawan, from Cibolo creek to about Monclova, state of Coahuila, Mexico, reaching the Gulf of Mexico only at the mouths of the Nueces and Rio Grande; the Tamaulipecan, covering all except the northern, southern, and southwestern extremities of the state of Tamaulipas; the Janambrian, embracing the Janambres and Pisones of southwestern Tamaulipas; and probably the Olivean of the southern part of the same state.

The Olive, who give their name to the Olivean stock, were brought into this territory from somewhere in the interior of Texas by a Spanish expedition of the sixteenth century, were missionized, and afterward acted as a bulwark against the wilder tribes of the north. As it is not at all likely that this expedition penetrated beyond the territory under discussion, the natural inference is that the Olive belonged to the same group, but nothing of their language is known to have been preserved. The two other linguistic groups in Tamaulipas are given on the authority of Orozco y Berra and must stand until more documentary or other evidence is supplied. At present the only scrap of a strictly Tamaulipecan language available is a corrupted bit of Maratino, from the central part of the state near the Gulf. The results of an analysis of this will be given later.

The Coahuiltecan stock was originally based on a catechism of Bartolomé García, a Franciscan father in the San Antonio missions of southern Texas, and with the help of the notes accompanying his *Manual* and information from other sources collected by Professor Herbert E. Bolton we are enabled to outline the boundaries of the stock with considerable accuracy. In 1886 the late Dr A. S. Gatschet discovered a few Indians on the Mexican side of the Rio Grande who knew something of two of the former languages of that region, Comecrudo and Cotoname. These he considered dialects of the Coahuiltecan stock, and that assumption has persisted until today, although on Orozco y Berra's map we find the Comecrudo placed in the territory of the Tamaulipecan stock. The Karankawa material consists principally of a vocabulary collected by Gatschet from a Mrs Alice W. Oliver, a white woman, who had spent her

earlier years near the Texas coast and had acquired some knowledge of the speech of that people. It is limited in extent and probably somewhat corrupted. It was supplemented to a small degree by short vocabularies collected by him from two Tonkawa Indians. Although Atakapa is practically extinct as a spoken language, Gatschet was fortunate enough to visit the remnant of the tribe when it was still possible to secure material, and in consequence we have a fairly extensive vocabulary and several texts. He also collected a long vocabulary and a few texts from the Tonkawa. Tonkawa, however, is still spoken, although, as we have seen, by very few people, and work may yet be done upon it. So far as I am aware, this is the only language throughout the vast area we are considering of which such a thing may be said.

When a serious investigation has been made into the structure of Tonkawa and Atakapa we will have a better basis for comparison with the fragments of speech that have survived to us from farther south. From short preliminary studies of Atakapa and the language of García's *Manual* in connection with the fragments of Karankawa, Comecrudo, and Cotoname, I am of the opinion that neither the phonetic systems nor the structure of these varieties of speech differed very widely. All are vocalic, on the whole, clusters of two consonants being indeed fairly common, but not a dominant feature. Words and syllables often end in consonants, particularly *k*, *l*, *n*, *m*, and *s*. The other structural features known to me give indications that few striking differences will be found.

But, while waiting for such a study to be undertaken, the results of a lexical comparison made by the writer some years ago may be of interest, as it seems to bring out certain interesting facts. In preparation for this work the Comecrudo and Cotoname material collected by Gatschet has been carded, as has also the Coahuilteco of García's *Manual*, after the latter had been analyzed as thoroughly as possible. This was tabulated along with all that in Karankawa and all of the Tonkawa equivalents contained in Gatschet's Tonkawa vocabulary, and therefore includes practically all the cross comparisons now possible between the Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, Cotoname, Karankawa, and Tonkawa languages. All possible com-

parisons have also been made between the first four of these and Atakapa, but I have not attempted a complete comparison of Atakapa and Tonkawa.

The following table contains all of those words which seem, as a result of the above comparison, to bear some relation to each other, although exactness is unattainable in a matter of this kind, since some apparent resemblances no doubt have no real significance, while forms seemingly much wider apart are no doubt related. I suggest, however, that the errors in one direction may check off those in the other. But even though the total number of resemblances listed were actually greater than the facts warrant, it is to be presumed that, the same investigator doing the work, the proportional resemblances between tribe and tribe will remain practically uniform. The phonetic signs used agree with those in English, or rather show that the sounds for which they stand approximate the English sound so designated, with the following exceptions: the vowels in general have their continental values; *ɑ* is the obscure *a*; *c*, English *sh*; *ê*, *e* in bell; *î*, *i* in mill; *ñ*, English *ng*; *tc*, English *ch* or *tch*; *dj*, English *j* in judge; *x*, velar spirant; *ɣ*, the palatal spirant; *ˆ* indicates that the preceding vowel is nasalized; *m̐* is a final *m* in some Karankawa words, "pronounced short and with the lips tightly closed," according to Gatschet; *E* stands for "eastern Atakapa dialect"; *W* for "western Atakapa dialect." In Coahuilteco García uses an apostrophe (') to show that the preceding consonant is pronounced with stress, i e., like a fortis; elsewhere it merely marks a pause. This is the only phonetic feature of any importance which seems peculiar to one language, but it is probable that, if our material had been collected when the languages in question were in a better state of preservation, it would be found to have been more widely distributed. It may be noted that the subjoined tables show some indication of an interchange between *k* and *p*. I have enclosed in parentheses portions of the Indian words which appear to be affixes.

LEXICAL RESEMBLANCES BETWEEN THE TONKAWA, COAHUILTECO, KARANKAWA, COMECRUDO, COTONAME, AND
ATAKAPA LANGUAGES

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
after				<i>semi</i>		
again	<i>else(n)</i>	<i>woma(lét)</i>				<i>ipus</i> (only), <i>pa-i</i>
alone, only	<i>pax, paxa atak</i>	<i>tsa(x)</i>		<i>paluem</i>		(too)
also		<i>hin, in</i>	<i>tén(no)</i>			
angry		<i>t'egul</i>				<i>yol</i>
anus, backsides		<i>til'</i>		<i>el</i>	<i>katowan</i>	<i>tol</i>
arm	<i>hilian</i>			<i>lot</i>		
arrow	<i>caxai</i>			<i>nkuak</i> (also reed)	<i>kaú</i> (also reed)	<i>shenne</i> (E), <i>tik</i> (W)
bow	<i>nixa-u</i>		<i>gaí</i>	<i>xai, xai palápé</i>		
aunt	<i>ahan, wacek,</i> <i>tahenéneyu</i>	<i>maki'án, tsal,</i> <i>mitcal, xotál,</i> <i>talce, taic, makis</i>		<i>ken</i>		
bad	<i>éx</i>	<i>k'aux, sax(pam),</i> <i>cāic</i>	<i>toúta, kassítuwakn</i> (to injure)			<i>halse-ec</i> (W), <i>ikau</i> (E)
good, well	<i>hinor</i>	<i>manām, cap'án</i>	<i>pla, klaban</i> (well, healthy)	<i>kénús</i>		
be, to	<i>eno</i> (to live)	<i>ici, tcoxai, so</i>		<i>aneluem</i>		<i>-c, to, a, uc</i>
believe, to	<i>telceno</i>			<i>yene</i> (to think)		<i>nai</i>
belly	<i>acwi</i>			<i>wax</i>	<i>kox, kuwele</i> (within)	<i>kom, kimaí</i> (inside)

ENGLISH	TOKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
bird	<i>kola</i>	<i>awayam</i>	<i>kuñn</i>	<i>xam</i>	<i>komióm</i>	
black			<i>pal, ma, mel</i>	<i>pa-yataú</i>	<i>ba-i</i>	<i>mel, yañ</i>
body				<i>nexasól</i>		<i>al</i>
break, to	<i>yatmaxet, yax- matce, kelaxa</i>	<i>k'xuñkalap'</i>	<i>tíhama</i>	<i>aptak</i>		<i>kéts, tsal</i>
breast	<i>yatcax</i>	<i>tsots</i>				<i>iské</i>
breast, female	<i>náyoman</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>kanín</i>	<i>kném</i>	<i>kénám, knám</i>	
brother	<i>hena</i>	<i>kuñnitáp, maisán</i>		<i>kanosa</i>		<i>nisset</i>
burn, to	<i>ma-i, melne</i>			<i>(pa)makua</i>		
capture, catch, or take, to	<i>he-ul, ta-an, nuku (to take)</i>	<i>tco (to take)</i>	<i>hastín</i>	<i>hel, gatile</i>		<i>icul, yal, koⁿ</i>
cold	<i>hatsax</i>			<i>(pa)sowe-tiaú</i>	<i>hávész, áwész</i>	
come, to;	<i>yetoka (to arrive), kal eta; haháwa</i>		<i>ka's, kas, éwe,</i> <i>éwe-e (come</i> <i>here!)</i>	<i>antigió (come</i> <i>here!), yak, to</i> <i>come</i>		<i>mok, hun, ti, to</i> <i>come near; ta,</i> <i>to come out; o, to</i> <i>come; in, to come</i> <i>in</i>
go, to	<i>xa, yaka(na), kux,</i> <i>wana (they go)</i>	<i>kal, kuan, (oux)- pakō (to go a- way), kaí (to</i> <i>walk)</i>	<i>yé; wána (let us</i> <i>go! or go away!)</i>	<i>(pa)kió</i>	<i>awóyo (go over</i> <i>there!)</i>	<i>non, wan</i>
conceal, to	<i>taapa</i>			<i>kama(t)</i>		
companion	<i>ta- (to go in com- pany)</i>	<i>paxti</i>				
crane	<i>k'a-u</i>		<i>kédō'd</i>	<i>kol</i>		<i>karakór</i>

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
cry or weep, to	<i>maka</i>	<i>wūyo</i>	<i>owí'ya</i>		<i>xakue</i> (to weep) <i>pama</i> (to cry)	<i>hai, yo-u</i> (<i>cok</i>) <i>ak</i>
dance, to	<i>yakave</i>			<i>ewē, e-ué</i>		
deer	<i>ao</i>			<i>ewē kaí, ewé ewē</i>		
flesh		<i>hēuh, hāuh, hēux,</i> <i>hāux</i>		<i>mek</i>	<i>itlécax men</i> (what do you want?)	
desire, to;		<i>tāpamō</i>	<i>ta</i>			
die, to	<i>lumax(o), wawa</i>	<i>xum, (kuan)isam</i>	<i>mal</i> (dead)		<i>widéxo</i> (he died)	
sleep, to	<i>chorno</i>	<i>isamōxuām</i>	<i>im</i>		<i>máisékuka</i>	
lie down, to	<i>tapicne</i> (to lie on one side)	<i>(oux)l'āmo</i>	<i>wu-ak</i>			<i>noé, yoxt, holi</i>
divide or sepa- rate, to		<i>saxop</i>				<i>hopa-i</i>
do, make, be- come	<i>he-ikewa, yekewa</i>	<i>hawai, hōi</i>	<i>káharwan</i>			
dog	<i>ekwan</i>		<i>kiss</i>		<i>kovú-u</i> (dog) <i>kissá</i> (fox) <i>xuáxe</i>	<i>am, ka-u</i>
drink, to	<i>(hen)uk(no), xane,</i> <i>xana</i> <i>coma</i>	<i>ouxo</i>	<i>akwetén</i>	<i>pamkam</i>		<i>coknok</i> <i>an</i>
duck						
ear						
eat, to	<i>yax</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>aknámus</i>	<i>alí</i> <i>(pa)kaí, (pa)ka-</i> <i>kuí</i> (to masti- cate)	<i>haháme, xaxáme,</i> <i>akwanamie</i> (to masticate)	<i>kul, ya</i>

ENGLISH	TOKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUPO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
end, to	<i>ehe(wa)</i>	<i>xāi</i>		<i>ehaplame</i>		
enter, to	<i>akuna, axuna</i>	<i>yāx</i>				
evening		<i>lcum, lukōm</i>		<i>(pa)lesóm</i>		
fall, to	<i>ela (?)</i>		<i>amook</i>	<i>mel, (pa)mesai</i>		<i>mak</i>
far, far off	<i>tcawal</i>		<i>wal(nia)</i>			
father	<i>ewac</i>	<i>mama</i>		<i>mam, mawís, mos</i>		
fight, to		<i>koiwako</i>		<i>(alig)wak(le)</i>		
fire	<i>naxtean (nax, to burn)</i>	<i>talām</i>	<i>hímhe, kwáici</i>	<i>len</i>	<i>mánéx</i>	
fly, to						
foot				<i>unakékúú</i>		<i>kau</i>
forehead				<i>emí</i>	<i>ayésim, ayésema</i>	
forget, to	<i>nxeno</i>	<i>xām</i>		<i>peṣ</i>		<i>mak</i>
friend	<i>ta (with, in com- pounds)</i>	<i>táwan (to be a friend)</i>		<i>halékám</i>		
give, to	<i>ax</i>				<i>ayemá</i>	
goose	<i>xilik</i>		<i>la-ak</i>		<i>krak</i>	<i>kulca</i>
grandfather		<i>puk'al</i>				
grandmother	<i>ekak, ekac</i>	<i>kās, kāka</i>				
great	<i>kwalo</i>	<i>(ap)nān</i>	<i>ya-an, wol (a great deal of)</i>	<i>poskām, pakmát</i>	<i>katām, kalara</i>	<i>hēts, kome, uc</i>
hand		<i>māux</i>	<i>éisma (and finger)</i>	<i>mapí (and finger), xam mapí, "bird-arm" i. e. wing</i>	<i>miapa (wing)</i>	

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
handle, touch, to	<i>ta-an</i>		<i>icañuwal</i>			
have, to	<i>ka</i>					<i>ka, ke</i>
he, she, it	<i>el</i>		<i>tal</i>			
that, this, the	<i>tel, taka, watac, el, ta, pi wi</i>		<i>tal</i>			
hear, to		<i>icakuwi</i>		<i>ye, kenkuwaye</i>		
heart	<i>yatsanan</i>	<i>xasāl</i>		<i>kayasāl</i>		
horn				<i>yēmō, yemō</i>	<i>yōmo</i>	
dwelt, to		<i>txam</i>		<i>apayuemle</i>		
house		<i>txam</i>	<i>ba-ač</i>	<i>wamāk</i>		
husband		<i>k'āu</i>		<i>tkuau</i>		
I, me, my	<i>ca, caya, ka (obj.)</i>	<i>tsin, na-, ta- (obj.)</i>	<i>náyī, ná-i</i>	<i>yen (me, my), na (I)</i>		
if	<i>eyuk</i>					
iron, gun, rifle		<i>awaxta, ē, ēx</i>				
jump, to	<i>tsuxāma, yakawe</i>			<i>(pa)mióp (gun)</i>	<i>komióp (iron), komióp (gun)</i>	
kill, to			<i>em</i>	<i>(pa)káu</i>		<i>wak</i>
knife			<i>ahúk</i>		<i>wátxuka</i>	
know, to	<i>atxesa</i>	<i>xō</i>	<i>silekáyī</i>	<i>xayepó</i>	<i>ēhiá-u</i>	
laugh, to	<i>xaxaya</i>		<i>kwass, kúma</i>			<i>uax</i>
leaf	<i>xace-i</i>	<i>moyd</i>	<i>kaña</i>			<i>hayu</i>
lightning	<i>meltecanen</i>			<i>xaisel (xai, tree)</i>		<i>wac</i>
				<i>(pa)meiót,</i>		
				<i>(pa)mák (thunder), (pa)mók (thunder)</i>		

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAP
love, to	<i>kec, ha-a</i>	<i>kawa</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kuail</i>		
maize	<i>tu'lxan</i>		<i>kuidm</i>	<i>taweló</i>	<i>taweló</i>	<i>necóum</i> (E)
man, male	<i>haakon</i>	<i>xagü</i>		<i>gnax, gnä</i>	<i>xuaináxe</i>	<i>cakíol</i> (male (man))
people, Indian		<i>pilam</i>	<i>yámawe</i> (man)		<i>xáíma</i> (Indian)	
many, much	<i>anohok, ha-ac, hi- wél</i>	<i>oráur, (ap)aur</i>		<i>yawet</i>		<i>he-u</i>
marry, to	<i>ta-e</i>	<i>táyagü</i> (said of a man; also sig. "wife")				
mesquite				<i>tan</i>	<i>dan, tónie</i> (?)	<i>ník</i>
milk	<i>tcana</i>	<i>teal</i>	<i>tenakwáya</i>			<i>na-u</i>
miscarry, to						
moccasin, shoe				<i>kan</i>		
moon	<i>naacoai, (nas, to shine)</i>	<i>ānua</i> (month)	<i>té-u</i>			
mother	<i>issa, xai</i>	<i>léic, tai</i>				<i>teñ</i>
mother-in-law	<i>tcām</i>					<i>hican</i>
near			<i>lekál, puhual</i>			<i>ípál, ol</i>
night		<i>tokōm</i>				<i>tāgg</i> (E)
nine	<i>sekwac</i> (<i>kwalo</i>)					<i>woc</i>
no, not	<i>akai, kēna, kapa-i</i>	<i>ox, oxua</i> (no) <i>axam, yaxam</i> (not)	<i>kóm, kwó-om,</i> <i>kwōm</i>	<i>kam</i>		<i>-ha</i>
nose				<i>yax</i>	<i>yá'ax, ya'x, yax</i>	

ENGLISH	TOKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
now	<i>huc</i>	<i>nakūē</i>	<i>acáhak</i>			<i>nak</i>
old, ancient	<i>kua</i>					<i>waci</i>
one	<i>wecē</i>		<i>nā'isa</i>	<i>ahuap</i>		
place or put, to	<i>pap</i>	<i>xakauko</i>				
pregnant	<i>actawa</i>	<i>sahui(n)</i>				
push, to	<i>yakelan</i>		<i>dan</i>			<i>tsañ(c)</i>
quick, quickly	<i>matan (?)</i>	<i>xuāko ayē</i>	<i>evé-e, evē, tólos</i> (to run quickly), <i>xankéye, xanki</i> (to hurry)			<i>mañ</i>
rabbit				<i>kiesuén</i>	<i>kiáxhem</i>	
rat, mouse	<i>lux (mouse)</i>			<i>kumét (rat)</i>	<i>tsémáx</i>	
rattlesnake	<i>senan hatak (real snake), senan-tasan-kan</i> (snake having rattle)			<i>wemúk (pa)sél</i> (<i>pasél</i> probably means "to rattle")		
red				<i>pamsól</i>	<i>msá-é</i>	
river, water	<i>tsakau (river)</i> ax (water)			ax	<i>almaha-ú, almaú</i> (river), ax, water	<i>akon(s), ta-i (river)</i> <i>ak, ka, kau</i> (water)
round	<i>pilil, kopol</i>			(<i>pa</i>)wapél		
run, to	<i>yakuna, yantsels;</i> <i>xana, to go away;</i> <i>xayen, going</i>		<i>tólos; xankéye (to run or hasten)</i>		<i>miára</i>	<i>paknau, tsat, akna</i> (water)

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
say, speak, tell, talk	<i>hepa, hetatsa</i>	<i>kā, masō, um, awam</i>	<i>kaúpn, pátsim, gaxiamélet</i> (I spoke)			<i>wants, ko-i</i>
scratch, to	<i>yulca, xwacaka</i>			(<i>pa</i>) <i>kawai</i> (to scrape)	<i>átsiu</i>	<i>kam</i>
sea (?)			<i>glé-i</i>	<i>glai, klai</i> (toroise—perhaps connected or a misunderstanding)		
see, to	<i>yatce</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>lca</i>	<i>imáx, máhe</i>		
sexual organs	<i>nel</i> (both sexes)	<i>malāux</i> (male)		<i>melkuai</i> (female)		
shoot, to	<i>yak, yela</i>			<i>apakalle, (pa)-yeheti</i>		<i>pém, pots</i>
sick	<i>atcan</i>	<i>tsa, t'al</i>	<i>kwátco</i>	<i>pekná</i>		<i>ciin</i>
sing, to	<i>hikto</i>					<i>yok</i>
sister	<i>ula</i>					<i>hilet</i>
sister-in-law	<i>macek ala</i> (also applied to other relations through marriage)	<i>mitcāl</i>				
sit, to	<i>yila</i>		<i>hékés, hdkal</i>	(<i>pa</i>) <i>nelpaú</i>	<i>páwe</i>	<i>ke</i>
six		<i>tiikuās</i>				<i>tsik</i>

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
sky	<i>tele-i</i> (above, etc.)	<i>uxuāl</i> (heaven, of theology)		<i>apel</i>		
small, little, young	<i>yakca, caxun</i>	<i>can</i>	<i>kwān, kwa-an</i>	<i>kācāx</i>	<i>kawúosam</i>	<i>cka, ts'on</i>
boy			<i>glo-essén</i>	<i>(pe)larús</i>		
girl	<i>ahan, wixun</i>			<i>kiaú</i>		<i>kal, kun</i>
south				<i>nelpók</i>	<i>páwia</i>	<i>akípa-i</i>
stand, to	<i>helepa</i>	<i>icālak</i>				<i>tsén</i>
steal, to				<i>woyekuél</i>		<i>wai</i>
stone, rock				<i>(pa)sewelian</i>		
strong	<i>tsekau</i>	<i>tso (?)</i>	<i>dó-owal</i>	<i>al</i>	<i>ō, o</i>	
sun	<i>taxac</i>		<i>bákta</i>	<i>(pa)matamak</i>	<i>ō, o</i>	
day	<i>taxac</i>	<i>i'il</i>	<i>tuwámka</i>	<i>lesumák</i>		<i>yil</i>
yesterday				<i>(pa)plewei</i>		<i>tém, tēn</i>
tall	<i>hawei</i>		<i>idhama</i>			<i>i'lem</i>
tear, to			<i>nya</i>			<i>ya</i>
there	<i>hiyek</i>			<i>yene</i>		<i>nai</i>
think, to	<i>yetsa(n)</i>	<i>nako</i>		<i>tokom</i>		<i>cok</i>
thing	<i>hitecuxax</i>			<i>nána, ye-ina</i> (you pl.)		<i>na, n</i>
thou, you, thy	<i>eya, hawelak, na,</i> <i>yel, ya-, he</i> (obj.)	<i>xá-má-, xamaken</i> (pl.)	<i>awú, áwa</i>			
three		<i>xohomō</i>	<i>kaxayi</i>	<i>yiy</i>		<i>huk-</i>
together				<i>pohokwét</i>		
tired	<i>koxo</i>		<i>kwal</i>			

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COAHUILTECO	KARANKAWA	COMECRUDO	COTONAME	ATAKAPA
tooth			é	i, íy, he-ewu-í		
tree, wood	ninxacan, xace-i (leaf)		akwini	xai		kak, nec
turkey	himaxan			esmakúét		
two	kela-i	axtē		alekuelen (or asequeten)		
very	anohok			eikahuak		nak
where?	ala, ale (?)		mudá			ma
whip, to	ya-xitca	anu, ani wats				pats
whistle, to	yákrucana		péka	(pa)pusamai		yok, woc
white	maslak		ba	(pa)pók, (pa)púk (pa)pót (and to blow)	mesó-i	pats-pats (E)
wind	poxo (to blow)			tewalisel		
witch		yēwal		hel		öl
with	la-	i'an		ya-unó		
yes	hehe	āā, xa	hié-é			haha

Following is a supplementary list of resemblances between Tonkawa and Comecrudo:

ENGLISH	TONKAWA	COMECRUDO
another	<i>kaluk</i>	<i>ap'hel</i>
beat, to;	<i>na-uyenu</i>	<i>aneluak(le)</i>
black	<i>kaxau</i>	<i>yatau</i>
buy, to;	<i>hayuwa</i>	<i>huam</i>
chew, to;	<i>k'a-iltc</i>	<i>kai</i>
cohabit, to	<i>ta-e</i>	<i>tuitam</i>
cover, to	<i>nawal, tc'el</i>	<i>walai</i>
crow	<i>kal</i>	<i>pal</i>
cut, to	<i>kaetca; hama</i>	<i>kawī; wemak</i>
flexible	<i>kiyukyax</i>	<i>payayel</i>
follow, to	<i>yax</i>	<i>yap</i>
heavy	<i>k'estau</i>	<i>maketiau</i>
high	<i>takak</i>	<i>pakna</i>
hollow, hole	<i>saxal</i>	<i>pehiol, pohuel</i>
inside	<i>yakwa</i>	<i>ayapa</i>
just now, now	<i>hōsh</i>	<i>pus</i>
lip	<i>k'alá (mouth)</i>	<i>xal</i>
low	<i>k'ēs</i>	<i>pus</i>
lower	<i>ayei (under)</i>	<i>enlak</i>
mock, to	<i>maka, pap</i>	<i>emet pakale</i>
open, to	<i>tcal, yā'kulaxē</i>	<i>ekokle, walai</i>
pipe	<i>kue-nuxun (pipe-stem)</i>	<i>kahuel</i>
seed	<i>xēl</i>	<i>hekel (?)</i>
shall	<i>tana</i>	<i>aneluem</i>
skin	<i>nawal (or covering)</i>	<i>emol (also hair on body)</i>
smell, to	<i>toxno</i>	<i>exno, pohuen</i>
thorn	<i>tek</i>	<i>tet</i>
tie, to	<i>yawewe</i>	<i>yenawile (tied)</i>
wound, to	<i>yela (to shoot and hit)</i>	<i>(pe)wale</i>

To bring out the facts contained in these tables it will now be necessary to find how many opportunities for comparison there are between every two languages and what proportion the resemblances bear to that number. This is shown in the following table. It should be remembered, however, that the comparison between Tonkawa and Atakapa is not complete.

	CASES	RESEMBLANCES	PROPORTION
Coahuilteco-Karankawa	55	25	.454
Karankawa-Cotoname	43	18	.418
Comecrudo-Cotoname	74	26	.351
Coahuilteco-Comecrudo	105	36	.342
Tonkawa-Cotoname	71	24	.338
Coahuilteco-Cotoname	25	8	.320
Karankawa-Comecrudo	94	27	.287
Tonkawa-Karankawa	114	32	.280
Tonkawa-Coahuilteco	165	46	.278
Karankawa-Atakapa	129	22	.170
Coahuilteco-Atakapa	153	26	.169
Tonkawa-Comecrudo	425	65	.152
Comecrudo-Atakapa	202	29	.143
Tonkawa-Atakapa	294	38	.129
Cotoname-Atakapa	85	7	.082

In many instances the change of a single number would produce a very considerable alteration in the relative position of the above pairs in this table, therefore too much reliance must not be placed on it. In general we find about what was to have been expected: that peoples near each other show more mutual resemblances than those at a distance; but some of the results are quite unexpected. Thus Karankawa, which has been assigned to a distinct stock, would appear to have been closest to Coahuilteco, while Comecrudo and Cotoname, supposedly dialectically related to Coahuilteco, are farther away, and on the other hand little nearer to each other than they are to Karankawa. If Orozco y Berra believed, as his map appears to indicate, that Cotoname belonged to the Coahuiltecan and Comecrudo to the Tamaulipecan stock, he was very far out of the way, since Comecrudo is even nearer to Coahuilteco than is Cotoname. Nevertheless, all of these languages, including Karankawa, are as a whole nearer to one another than to Tonkawa or Atakapa, and as between the two latter languages nearer to Tonkawa. It is remarkable that Tonkawa appears to be much closer to Cotoname than to Comecrudo.

Considerable additional light has been thrown on the linguistic conditions in the area we are discussing by the researches of Professor Bolton. These seem to make it clear that, whether the stocks

hitherto assigned to this region are connected or not, they do represent so many divergent groups in the sections where they have been established. The position of the Tamaulipas tribes is, however, still very uncertain.

Among the things unearthed by Professor Bolton was a short vocabulary which he states was near the end of the original book of baptisms of San Francisco Solano mission, and dated 1703-08. This mission was founded in 1700 south of the Rio Grande, below Eagle Pass. In 1718 it was removed to San Antonio, but as that was after the period when these words were recorded, they are evidently from the speech of some tribe or tribes near its original seat, in a region usually assigned to the Coahuiltecan family, and Coahuiltecan it evidently is. Nevertheless an examination shows that this dialect diverges very considerably from the other known dialects. Below I give in tabular form the results of a comparison of the words in this list with corresponding expressions in the languages we have been considering:

ENGLISH	SAN FRANCISCO SOLANO	CORRESPONDENCES ¹
three	<i>genin</i> (or <i>genint</i> ?)	
four	<i>saath</i>	<i>sikiti</i> (T), <i>tsets</i> (E A)
fur	<i>no</i>	<i>ela</i> (hair) (Com), <i>na-u</i> (W A)
tortilla	<i>kainika</i>	
I am hungry	<i>nabaog</i>	<i>amel</i> (hungry) (K)
tobacco	<i>sihik</i>	<i>ax</i> (Com), <i>tsit</i> (W A), <i>tsigg</i> (E A)
salt	<i>tciene</i>	<i>sepén</i> (Com), <i>dá-án</i> (Cot)
meat	<i>nikaog</i>	<i>heux</i> , <i>ahaux</i> (Coa)
give me!	<i>sieh</i>	<i>ayema</i> (Com); <i>yen</i> (me) (Com); <i>ax</i> (give), <i>tsin</i> (I) (Coa); <i>hemic</i> (T), <i>(ke)-weke</i> (gave me) (T)
water	<i>apam</i>	<i>ax</i> (Com, Cot, T), <i>atmahau</i> , <i>atmau</i> (river) (Com), <i>awana</i> (Coa), <i>ak</i> (W A)
there are	<i>taapam</i>	<i>tapa</i> (Coa)
there is none	<i>paam</i>	<i>paaxam</i> (Coa), <i>kam</i> (Com), <i>pa-i</i> (intensive) (T), <i>kom</i> , <i>kwó-om</i> , <i>kwóm</i> (K)
mother	<i>naha</i>	<i>tai</i> , <i>tsawax</i> (Coa), <i>xai</i> (T), <i>kaninma</i> (K)

¹ E A, Eastern Atakapa; W A, Western Atakapa; Coa, Coahuilteco; Com, Come-rudo; Cot, Cotoname; K, Karankawa; T, Tonkawa.

father	<i>papam</i>	<i>ma'ma</i> (Coa), <i>mam</i> (Com), <i>behema</i> (K)
brother	(s) <i>oyá</i>	<i>oolaak</i> (sisters and brothers) (T)
sister	(s) <i>opaám</i>	<i>pen</i> (W A)
is she your sister?	<i>hykomeyà</i>	
eat it!	<i>namô</i>	<i>ham</i> (Coa), <i>hahame</i> , <i>xaxame</i> (Coa), <i>ya</i> (T), <i>aknámas</i> (K) (to eat)
bad	<i>krisen</i> (or <i>krigen</i> ?)	<i>k'aux</i> (Coa)
yes	<i>aapag</i>	<i>hehe</i> (T), <i>āā</i> (Coa), <i>ya-unó</i> (Com), <i>hié-é</i> (K), <i>haha</i> (A)
he wishes (¿quiere)	<i>hypayô</i>	<i>tâpamó</i> (Coa)

We find that out of the twenty-one words and expressions preserved from this dialect II have resemblances in Coahuilteco, 8 in Tonkawa, 8 in Comecrudo, 6 in Karankawa, 6 in Atakapa, and 3 in Cotoname. As in the previous cases, Tonkawa and Atakapa are at a great advantage, and Coahuilteco, Cotoname, Comecrudo, and Karankawa at a great disadvantage in this comparison, therefore the great number of resemblances between this dialect and Coahuilteco is more significant than the figures indicate, and the small number of correspondences with Atakapa of similar significance. With equally good material from all of these dialects it is probable that the order would be: Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, Karankawa, Cotoname, Tonkawa, Atakapa. There is at least little doubt of the dialectic relationship of this language to that incorporated in García's *Manual*.

A few isolated words from other mission archives yield a little information beyond this. From a group of tribes near the Rio Grande, embracing the Parchaque, Mescaleros (not the Apache tribe so called), Yoricas, Chomes, Alachomes, and Pamaís, the word *asaguan* [*asawan*], meaning 'heart,' is recorded, and *ganapetuan*, 'a large body of water,' their name for the Rio Grande. The first falls readily in line with Coahuilteco *xasál*, Comecrudo *kayasél*, and Tonkawa *yatsánan*. The first part of the second is evidently a variant of Coahuilteco *aguana* (probably pronounced *awana*), 'water,' while *-petuan* has points of resemblance with Coahuilteco *apnān*, Karankawa *yá-an*, Comecrudo *pakmát*, and Cotoname *katám*, all meaning 'large.' Again *yana guana* is given as the name

of San Antonio river in the language of the Payaya tribe. The second word is, of course, Coahuilteco for 'river' or 'water'; the significance of *yana* I have not determined.

From the Aranama, a tribe which lived near the present Goliad and persisted into comparatively late time, one expression survives, recorded by Gatschet from a Comecrudo Indian who had heard it used. This is *himiána tsáyi*, 'give me water.' *Himiána* is said to mean 'water,' and it suggests the Coahuilteco *awana*. The *tsa* in *tsáyi* is very likely the objective pronominal prefix of the first person singular, and if so evidently related to Tonkawa *ca*, Coahuilteco *tsin*, and San Francisco Solano *sa*. The whole word *tsáyi* may be nothing more than the Aranama equivalent of the Tonkawa independent pronoun of the first person, *cáya*, or it may consist of the pronoun *tsa* and a stem meaning 'to give,' related to the Comecrudo *ayemá*, and perhaps Coahuilteco *ax* and Atakapa *e*.

Although evidently related to Coahuilteco, the dialect of San Francisco Solano shows that there was considerable divergence on the part of some Coahuiltecan languages, and this fact makes it easier to conceive that several of the so-called stocks might really have represented dialects more divergent still. It is my own opinion that the number of resemblances between Karankawa on the one hand and Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, and Cotoname on the other—especially in view of the small amount of Karankawa material available for study—indicates that this group at least formed an offshoot of the Coahuiltecan stock. While we do not know that the same held true for all the tribes of Tamaulipas, the case of Comecrudo points strongly in that direction, and it is also indicated, though less strongly, by an analysis of Maratino.

All the linguistic material available from Maratino is contained in a war-song, or supposed war-song, in that language, one short sentence, and a few words, all copied into Prieto's History of Tamaulipas from an unpublished work of Father Santa María, a Franciscan missionary. This is corrupt and difficult to analyze, but a considerable number of stems may be isolated and some hints gathered regarding the grammatical structure. Following is a practically complete list of the words contained in this material

with their nearest correspondences in the languages of the group under discussion.

ENGLISH	MARATINO	CORRESPONDENCES
plural sign	-a	(see next—in same position after noun)
many (prefixed)	a-a	he-u (A); ha-ac (T); axāux (Coa)
drink, to	baah (ka) (let us drink)	piṣ, am (A); pamkam (Com); xuaxe (Cot); ouxo (Coa)
wolf	bum	kombox (Cot)
and	he	xwe, et, ekla (T); mi (Coa)
not	-he, -hi (a little uncertain)	-ha (A); akai (T); axam, yaxam (Coa); ka (Com); sa (?) (Cot); kom (K)
(diminutive suffix)	-i	
?	ka (the only word in which <i>k</i> is used in the original)	
shots	catamá [katama]	pēm (A); odn (K); komiop (gun) (Cot); upakat(le) (Com)
us (?)	co, or comi [ko, komi]	
enemies, to the	coapagtzi [koapagtsi]	kome, magasu (A); wol (K); tso (Coa)
forces, strength	cohcoh [kohkoh]	(?); tsekau (T)
deer	cons(gio) [kons(gio)]	lans (A); kēma's, kēmasia (?) (Cot)
altho—but yet	cuaahne [kuaahne]	tukuaxam (Coa) (at that, in that)
able (?)	cugtimá (?) [kugtimá]	uxts (A); tam (Coa)
run, to	cuino [kuino]	yakuna (T); pakna, akna (to run, as water) (A)
far	cuiüciuímá [kuiüsi-kuímá] (there very far away)	meskám (Com)
lions [panthers]	juri [xuri]	xuepet (Com)
shout, to	maamehe (to shout for joy)	pama (Cot); maka, meka (T)
jump, to	maatzimetzu (giving leaps)	tsuxuma (T); em (K); pux, wak (A)
bird	magch [magtc]	cokcoc (A); komiom (Cot); xam (Com); awayam (Coa)
bow	mahká	nixau (T); kēmma (Cot); dēmoa (arrow) (K)
them	me-, mi-	mi- (Coa); nawis (Com); we (a Tonk. demonstrative)
meat	migticui [migtikui] (who eat meat)	tilc (T); kēmas (Cot); nikaog (San Francisco Solano)

ENGLISH	MARATINO	CORRESPONDENCES
weep, to	<i>mimigihí</i> (will not be weeping)	<i>maka</i> (T); <i>wayo</i> (Coa); <i>owiya</i> (K); (<i>pa</i>) <i>ulamaí</i> (Com)
our, we	<i>ming, mi</i>	<i>mi</i> (an example in Com) (Atak has <i>wi</i> in 1st pers. sing.)
now (?)	<i>mohká</i>	<i>nak</i> (A); <i>inaknē</i> (Coa); <i>aca'hak</i> (K); <i>wan</i> (T)
like, after the manner of	<i>nigua, nighua</i> [<i>niwa?</i>]	<i>nak</i> (A); <i>letca</i> (T)
to go or to shout (the context leaves the exact meaning in doubt)	<i>nohgima</i>	<i>non</i> (to walk) (A); <i>awáyo</i> (let us go!) (Cot); <i>ki(o)</i> to go (Com)
kill, to;	<i>paahchu, paahehu, paagchichu</i> [<i>paah-icu, paagticicu</i>]	(<i>pa</i>) <i>kamau</i> (Com); <i>nima</i> (A); <i>lumatxo</i> (T); <i>mal</i> (dead) (K); (<i>pa</i>) <i>plau</i> (dead) (Com); <i>pix</i> (A)
flee, they will make them	<i>tzi pamini</i> [<i>tzi pamini</i>]	<i>pako</i> (to go away) (Coa)
cord	<i>pomg</i>	<i>ō</i> (A); <i>yapina</i> (to twist) (T)
arrow	<i>xiri</i> [<i>ciri</i>]	<i>caxai</i> (T); <i>skenne</i> (E A)
woman	<i>chigwat</i> [<i>icíwat</i>]	<i>kwan</i> (T); <i>tāgu</i> (Coa)
the (pl.)	<i>tze</i> [<i>tse</i>]	<i>tci</i> (these) (T); <i>tce-</i> (many) (Coa); <i>ya</i> (A)
children, the	<i>tzicuini</i> [<i>tsikuini</i>] (<i>tzi</i> = these?)	<i>kwān</i> (little and child) (K); <i>tsiic</i> (A)
mountain	<i>ka tamugni</i> (to war on the mountain), <i>matomau</i> (to the mountain)	<i>natun</i> (T)
see, to	(<i>ming</i>) <i>metepeh</i> ((we) see them)	<i>imax, mahe</i> (Com); <i>mas</i> (Coa)
sleep, to	<i>megtuché</i> [<i>megtutcé</i>] let us sleep	<i>tcoxno</i> (T); <i>oi</i> (A); (<i>n</i>) <i>emet</i> (Com)
come home, we	<i>coomutepá</i> [<i>koomute-pá</i>]	<i>eta</i> (T); <i>ti</i> (to come near), <i>mok, o</i> (to come), <i>ewe'</i> (come here!) (A)

At the best this is not very satisfactory. Still the method of indicating plurality and negation, the words for wolf, to run, to shout, them, arrow, the (or these), and traces of similar forms to indicate the first person plural, present resemblances strongly suggesting that further material would give us more certain grounds for classifying Maratino with the Coahuiltecan stock. It is sur-

prising to find so many similarities with words from Atakapa, but this may be due rather to the abundance of Atakapa material than to an actually close relationship.

The Tonkawan stock was evidently strongly marked off from both Coahuiltecan and Karankawan, and yet the resemblances which we find point to an ancient linguistic unity between it and those we have just considered. Atakapa is apparently more remote, and it has more features in common with Chitimacha, the next language to the east, while there are traces of contact with Tunica and even with the Muskogean tongues.

Perhaps the most striking point brought out by this investigation is the surprisingly close resemblance between Cotoname, which was spoken near the mouth of the Rio Grande, and Tonkawa. Referring to our table it will be seen that of all the languages compared with Tonkawa, exclusive of Atakapa, Cotoname seems to present the most relative resemblances and Comecrudo the least, although Comecrudo and Cotoname were exceedingly close to each other. On the other hand Atakapa seems to come closer to Coahuilteco in spite of the fact that the Atakapa tribes were anciently in actual contact with the Tonkawan tribes, which lay between the territories of the two. There would appear to have been two principal divisions of the Coahuiltecan stock: one including Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, and probably Karankawa, with which Atakapa was nearest related, or which had influenced Atakapa the most, and one represented by Cotoname and Tonkawa.

For it becomes increasingly evident that at least Karankawa and Tonkawa were anciently of one stock with the Coahuiltecan dialects, that is, if the three or four Coahuiltecan dialects known to us belonged to one stock. If Karankawa is nearer Coahuilteco than Comecrudo and Cotoname, and as near Cotoname as is Comecrudo, it is absurd to classify Coahuilteco, Comecrudo, and Cotoname arbitrarily in one stock and exclude Karankawa from it. The case for Tonkawa is not so good, but the surprising resemblances which it presents with the remote and little-known Cotoname, along with other similarities that crop out, leave little doubt that it belongs in the same connection, although until a structural examination has

been carried out it might be best to leave our classification *in statu quo*. While it would be premature to go any farther at present, I believe the time will come when we shall find it necessary to do so. Indeed we may discover relationships among Southern tribes to extend far beyond the limits we have hitherto believed possible. Consider, for instance, the suggestiveness in the following series of terms for 'water': Cotoname *ax*, Comecrudo *ax*, Tonkawa *ax*, Atakapa *ak* or *kakau*, Chitimacha *ku* or *kun*, Natchez *kun*, Choctaw *oka*, Alabama *oke*, Hitchiti *oke*, Creek *oiwa*. There are of course few cases as striking as this; but why the resemblance over such an extended area? That there should be some features in common between the Muskhogean dialects and those languages spoken west of the Mississippi was to have been expected if Muskhogean migration legends are to be relied on, and careful investigation will perhaps show it to have been closer than we have hitherto believed. If that should prove to be the case it will be another powerful argument against the strict correlation of race and culture. The tribes on the lower Mississippi and east of it were comparatively as cultured as were those west of it (the Caddoan tribes excepted) uncultured.

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